

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
CU-04 BIB-01 DHA-05 /069 W
-----003778 312036Z /70

R 311830Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1567
INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMCONSUL MUNICH
DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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MUNICH PLEASE PASS LAJOIE

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINR, PINS, PROP, SOPN, UR, US
SUBJECT: AUGUST 31 LIT GAZ ARTICLE ON TOTH

SUMMARY. LONG ARTICLE IN LITERATURNAYA GAZETA OF
AUGUST 31 DEALS WITH TOTH AFFAIR. ENTITLED "THIS
STRANGE PARAPSYCHOLOGY", BY V. VALENTINOV AND B. ROSHCHIN,
IT DERIDES U.S. PRESS COVERAGE OF HIS EXPULSION WHICH
PICTURES HIM AS AN "INNOCENT VICTIM OF ILLEGAL PERSECUTION."
AUTHORS OF 'LITGAZ' ARTICLE CLAIM TO HAVE BEEN SHOWN
DOCUMENTS BY AUTHORITIES WHICH DEMONSTRATE THAT
TOTH WAS HIDING "CERTAIN THINGS" FROM THE ORGANIZERS OF
THE U.S. CAMPAIGN IN HIS DEFENSE. ARTICLE ALLEGES THAT
TOTH'S SOVIET CONTACT WAS NOT SIMPLY INTERESTED IN
PARAPSYCHOLOGY, BUT WAS THE DIRECTOR OF A LABORATORY
AT AN INSTITUTE, AND THAT TOTH MET WITH HIM CONSPIRATORIALLY
AND TRIED TO TURN HIM INTO A SOURCE OF ESPIONAGE
INFORMATION. TOTH PURPORTEDLY WAS ESPECIALLY
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INTERESTED IN THE WORK OF A PARTICULAR INSTITUTION KNOWN
TO ONLY A SMALL CIRCLE OF PEOPLE, AND HOPED TO USE HIS
CONTACT TO FIND OUT ABOUT THE WORK. ARTICLE ATTEMPTS
TO SHOW THAT TOTH WAS WORKING FOR U.S. MILITARY
INTELLIGENCE AND IN THIS CONNECTION MENTIONS FORMER
EMBASSY MILITARY ATTACHES WATTERS AND LAJOIE, QUOTING
EXTENSIVELY FROM A LETTER WATTERS ALLEGEDLY SENT TOTH.

END SUMMARY.

1. ATTEMPTING TO PERSUADE 'LITGAZ' READERS THAT TOTH WAS IN FACT UP TO NO GOOD, THE AUTHORS CLAIM TO HAVE READ THE PROTOCOL OF HIS INTERROGATION AND PRESENT A SYNOPOSIS OF IT. THEY SAY THAT TOTH MET WITH VARIOUS DISSIDENTS WHO, KNOWING HIS INTEREST IN BRANCHES OF SCIENCE WHICH HAVE MILITARY APPLICATIONS, TRIED TO INTRODUCE HIM TO SCIENTISTS WHO WOULD SUPPLY HIM WITH INFORMATION ABOUT PARTICULAR EXPERIMENTS.

2. TOTH IS ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN ABOUT TO OBTAIN FROM A SPECIALIST A "DETAILED" LIST OF "SECRET INSTALLATIONS" ("REZHIMNKH OBYEKTOV") WITH AN INDICATION OF THEIR LOCATION, NAMES OF THEIR DIRECTORS AND A LIST OF THEIR PRODUCTS, WHICH HE WOULD HAVE ADDED TO A CORRESPONDING DOSSIER AT THE U.S. AIR ATTACHE'S OFFICE IN MOSCOW, WHOSE PERSONNEL WERE DESCRIBED AS WAITING IMPATIENTLY FOR THIS MOMENT.

3. IN ORDER TO CONVINCE THEIR READERS OF TOTH'S "REAL" ACTIVITY IN MOSCOW, AUTHORS CITE EXCERPTS FROM A DECEMBER 1976 LETTER TO HIM FROM ROBERT WATTERS, FORMER MEMBERS OF THE U.S. DEFENSE ATTACHE'S OFFICE IN MOSCOW AND NOW AT THE "CENTRAL APPARATUS OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE" IN WASHINGTON. TRANSLATION OF THIS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PORTION OF ARTICLE FOLLOWS:

BEGIN QUOTE "BOB, AS FAR AS KRIMSKY IS CONCERNED, I KNOW THAT LAST SPRING'S LITGAZ WAS CORRECT" SAYS THIS LETTER. WE WON'T HIDE OUR SATISFACTION AT THIS FRANK STATEMENT BY MR. TOTH'S FRIEND. SUCH A CONFIDENTIAL AND COMPETENT STATEMENT IS WORTH ALL THE "REFUTATIONS" RESOUNDING IN AMERICA AT THE TIME OF THE ARTICLE IN "LITGAZ" ON THE "ACTIVITY" OF CORRESPONDENT KRIMSKY IN MOSCOW.

HOWEVER, LET US CONTINUE OUR QUOTATIONS. WATTERS, IN THE TONE OF A BOSS SATISFIED WITH THE WORK OF "HIS MAN IN MOSCOW", REPORTS: "BOB* YOUR NAME CAME UP LAST MONTH AT THE PENTAGON, WHEN WILSON TOLD SOME OF US ABOUT THE RESULTS OF HIS TRIP TO EASTERN EUROPE AND MOSCOW...BRAVO* WILSON WAS PLEASED THAT HE GOT TO MEET YOU. YOU MADE A VERY STRONG IMPRESSION ON HIM. BUT THAT'S NOT SURPRISING."

FOR THE UNINFORMED READER, WE MENTION THAT LT. GEN. SAMUEL WILSON WAS THEN DIRECTOR OF THE

INTELLIGENCE OFFICE OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE.

IN THE LETTER WATTERS CONFIDENTIALLY REPORTS:
"DEAR BOB, ABOUT A MONTH AGO HAIG (SUPREME COMMANDER OF
NATO IN EUROPE - AUTHOR), WAS GIVEN AN ANALYSIS
CONTAINING INFORMATION ABOUT WARSAW PACT CAPABILITY OF
ATTACKING EUROPE (BF - AUTHOR) WITH THEIR PRESENT
FORCES...THERE WERE TWO DEFINITELY UNPLEASANT ASPECTS
FOR HAIG IN THIS REORT: ITS UNDERESTIMATION OF NATO
DEFENSE AND, WHAT IS STILL MORE IMPORTANT, THE TIMING OF
THE INFORMATION...HAIG THINKS THAT WE WILL FIND AN
INCREASE IN THE GAP (IN MILITARY CAPABILITIES - AUTHORS).
AND THIS, THE LETTER MAKES CLEAR, CAN IN HAIG'S OPINION
SERIOUSLY INTERFERE WITH ACHIEVING AN OUTCOME FAVORABLE
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TO NATO AT THE DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA.

WATTERS ALSO COMPLAINS OF DIFFICULTIES OF
A DIFFERENT ORDER: "THE WEST MUST WORK OUT A UNIFIED
POSITION ON THIS QUESTION, SINCE ONLY TWO OF OUR ALLIES,
ESPECIALLY THE FRG, ARE SKEPTICALLY INCLINED TO THE
IDEA OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR A REDUCTION IN ARMAMENTS, AND
FRANCE HAS REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS,
ALTHOUGH IT IS LOCATED IN THE ZONE INCLUDED IN THE ARMS
REDUCTION AREA."

HOWEVER, IT MUST SEEM CLEAR TO THE READER
THAT THIS IS NOT SIMPLY A PERSONAL MESSAGE, WHOSE
AUTHOR HAS EXTRA TIME TO ENGAGE IN POLITICAL-STRATEGIC
DISCUSSIONS. HERE IS A CLEARLY OUTLINED RANGE OF
PROBLEMS WHICH IT IS INCUMBENT UPON THE RECIPIENT OF A
LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS TO INTEREST HIMSELF IN. THE
REPRESENTATIVE OF AN INFORMATION (I.E., INTELLIGENCE)
SERVICE IS OBLIGATED TO CLARIFY ALL CIRCUMSTANCES
CONNECTED IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER WITH THIS RANGE OF
PROBLEMS. WHAT KIND OF "CIRCUMSTANCES" ARE IN MIND IN
THIS PARTICULAR CASE IS NOT DIFFICULT TO GUESS, IF
ONE READS THE TEXT CAREFULLY. EVIDENCE OF THE FACT
THAT THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT MATTER AND THAT THE RECIPIENT
OF THE LETTER, A SIMPLE CORRESPONDENT OF A LOS ANGELES
NEWSPAPER, WILL HAVE TO GIVE A PERSONAL ACCOUNTING BEFORE
SUCH HIGHLY PLACED DEPARTMENTS ABOUT THE RESULTS OF HIS
"ACTIVITY" IS PARTICULARLY APPARENT IN THIS PHRASE:
"THIS THEME (I.E., THE CORRELATION BETWEEN THE 'MILITARY
POSSIBILITIES' OF THE TWO SIDES - AUTHORS) IS OF GREAT
INTEREST TO GENERAL HAIG, AND YOU WILL BE ABLE TO HAVE A
FRUITFUL DISCUSSION ABOUT IT NEXT TIME YOU SEE HIM."
A RATHER TRANSPARENT HINT: BETTER BE PREPARED FOR IT*
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WASN'T THE RANGE OF MR. TOTH'S "JOURNALISTIC"
INTERESTS TOO BRAOD, AND WASN'T THE "FREE FLOW OF
INFORMATION" SUPPLIED BY HIM TO VARIOUS CHANNELS TOO
WIDE?

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
CU-04 BIB-01 DHA-05 /069 W
-----004977 312044Z /70

R 311830Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1568
INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMCONSUL MUNICH
DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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EVERYTHING FALLS INTO PLACE IF YOU TAKE
INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT TOTH KEPT UP HIS CONTACTS WITH
OTHER "COLLEAGUES" AS WELL (AMONG THEM LT. COL. ROLAND
LAJOIE, A FRIEND OF TOTH'S, FORMER MEMBER OF THE MILITARY
ATTACHE'S OFFICE IN THE USSR, NOW DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT
OF DEFENSE'S INTELLIGENNE SCHOOL IN GARMISCH, KNOWN AS
THE RUSSIAN INSTITUTE OF THE U.S. ARMY; HE KEPT TOTH
INFORMED AND NOTIFIED HIM WHICH OF HIS COLLEAGUES WERE
GOING TO WORK IN MOSCOW). TWO HIGH-RANKING GENERALS
AND MANY U.S. INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS EXHORTED AND
ENCOURAGED TOTH. TRYING TO CURRY FAVOR WITH THE
HIGHER UPS, HE BEGAN TO WORK IN SUCH A BURST OF ACTIVITY,
THAT TOWARDS SUMMER OF THIS YEAR THIS ACTIVITY BEGAN
TO TAKE ON AN INCREASINGLY DANGEROUS AND, WE MIGHT SAY,
AGGRESSIVE CHARACTER. NATURALLY, THIS COULDN'T GO ON

FOR LONG, AND ON ONE FINE DAY THE ZEALOUS INTELLIGENCE
AGENT SUFFERED A DOWNFALL.

IT REMAINS FOR US ONLY TO ADD THAT U.S.
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE HAROLD BROWN HIMSELF JOINED
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HIS VOICE TO THE "ENERGETIC PROTESTS" IN CONNECTION WITH
THE TOTH AFFAIR. UP 'TIL NOW WE HADN'T KNOWN THAT THE
AMERICAN PRESS, OR MORE PRECISELY INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS
OF THE PRESS, ENTERED INTO THE SPHERE OF INTERESTS OF
THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT.

ON THE OTHER HAND, WE HAVE NOW LEARNED THIS.
AND AT THE SAME TIME ANOTHER CURIOUS FACT BECOMES MORE
CLEAR TO US. RESPONSIBLE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FBI
IN LOS ANGELES, EMLER F. LINDBERG AND HIS ASSISTANT
JAMES WHITE ARE REPORTED IN THE NEWSPAPER HOLLYWOOD
PRESS TO HAVE ANSWERED A QUESTION ABOUT THE TOTH INCIDENT
BY SAYING "NO COMMENT". AS IS WELL KNOWN, THIS FORMULA
IS ONLY USED WHEN PEOPLE DON'T WANT TO ANSWER AND CAN
FIND NOTHING TO REFUTE THE SUBSTANCE OF THE QUESTION.

END QUOTE

4. THE LAST TWO PARAGRAPHS OF THE ARTICLE QUOTE THE EDITOR
OF THE LOS ANGELES TIMES SUPPORTING TOTH, SAYING THAT IT
WAS "AMUSING" TO THINK OF HIM OR OTHER RESPONSIBLE
AMERICAN JOURNALISTS BEING ACCUSED OF BEING SECRET AGENTS FOR
THE GOVERNMENT, AND THAT IF THEY REALLY WERE, IT WOULD
VIOLATE THE RULES OF THE NEWSPAPER AND THE ETHICAL NORMS
FOR THE CONDUCT OF JOURNALISTS. THE AUTHORS GO ON TO
SAY THAT THEY DON'T THINK CERTAIN MEN IN THE PENTAGON ARE
AMUSED, AND CONCLUDE: QUOTE BUT WHO IS GUILTY, FOR THE
FACT THAT THE CIA AND OTHER SIMILAR AGENCIES HAVE
SUCCESSFULLY SURVIVED EVERY "INVESTIGATION" OF THEIR
UNSEEMLY ACTIVITY AND CONTINUE TO PLACE THEIR AGENTS
IN VARIOUS STATE AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISES, INCLUDING
THE PRESS*? IN ANY CASE, RESPECTED AMERICAN FIGURES
WILL NOT BEGIN TO CLAIM THAT WHEN THEY TALK ABOUT
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"BASIC PRINCIPLES--FREEDOM FOR THE FLOW OF INFORMATION
AND FREE ACCESS" TO SOURCES--THAT THEY HAVE IN MIND
A FLOW OF INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION AND FREE ACCESS TO
SECRET SITES. END QUOTE.

5. VALENTINOV AND ROSHCIN CLAIM SOVIET
AUTHORITIES HAD SUFFICIENT DOCUMENTATION TO BRING TOTH
TO TRIAL BUT, "GUIDED BY INTERESTS OF DEVELOPMENT OF
SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS", ALLOWED HIM TO LEAVE THE USSR.

6. AT A AUGUST 31 LUNCHEON EMBOFF DISCUSSED THIS LIT
GAZ ARTICLE WITH SOVIET MFA OFFICIAL. SOVIET OFFICIAL SAID
HE THOUGHT THE ARTICLE WAS DIRECTED AT SOVIET READERSHIP
AND WAS INTENDED PRIMARILY AS A RESPONSE TO WESTERN PRESS COVERAGE
OF THE TOTH AFFAIR. HE SAID MANY SOVIETS HAD HEARD THE
WESTERN DEFENSE OF TOTH ON VOA "AND FROM OTHER SOURCES"
AND THE SOVIET PRESS PROBABLY FELT AS RESPONSE WAS NECESSARY.

7. COMMENT: IT WOULD BE INTERESTING TO KNOW WHETHER LETTER
QUOTED IN THE ARTICLE HAS SOME BASIS IN FACT, AND
WOULD APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S CHECKING THIS ASPECT OF
THE ARTICLE. ALTHOUGH SHCHARANSKIY IS NOT
NAMED BY THE LITGAZ PIECE, IF HE COMES TO TRIAL, IT
SEEMS LIKELY THAT HIS ASSOCIATION WITH "U.S. MILITARY
INTELLIGENCE OPERATIVE" TOTH WILL BE USED AGAINST HIM.
TOON

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Message Attributes

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Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Errors: N/A
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Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1534385
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
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TAGS: PINR, PINS, PROP, SOPN, UR, US, (TOTH, ROBERT)
To: STATE LENINGRAD
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/da82fa56-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
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